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NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00

MBFR-03 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 EB-11 RSR-01 ACDA-19 IO-12

EURE-00 OMB-01 /149 W

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P R 161442 Z MAY 73
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 121
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USLOSACLANT

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2400

E. O. 11652: GDS TAGS: MCAP, NATO

SUBJECT: DRAFT DPC MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE

REF: STATE 84484

SUMMARY: WE HAVE IDENTIFIED BELOW CERTAIN AMENDMENTS WHICH WE PROPOSE TO SUPPORT IN DRC REVIEW OF DRC/ WP(73)4(REVISED) ON MAY 21. OUR MAIN PURPOSE IS TO INCREASE THE EMPHASIS ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES AND WITHIN CONVENTIONAL FORCES TO INCLUDE PROVISION FOR REINFORCEMENT, AUGMENTATION AND MOBILIZATION FORCES. AS OCCURRED IN SESSION OF MAY 7, WE ANTICIPATE SUBSTANTIAL REDRAFTING OF PAPER ON MAY 21. WASHINGTON ACTION REQUESTED: BROAD GUIDANCE FOR DRC MEETING OF MAY 21, WITH INDICATION OF ANY SPECIFIC POINTS US ESPECIALLY DESIRES INCLUDED OR DELETED. END SUMMARY.

1. DRC TAKES UP DRC/ WP(73)4(REVISED) ON MAY 21, WITH DPC ACTION CONTEMPLATED FOR MAY 28.

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2. WE PROPOSE TO SUPPORT THE FOLLOWING AMENDMENTS IN DRC CONSIDERATION OF THE TEXT:

A. PARA 1: IN LINE 5 CHANGE 1966(2) TO 1967(2) AND AT BOTTOM OF PAGE CHANGE FOOTNOTE (2) TO READ " DPC/ D(67)23, ANNEX II."

- B. PARA 3: IN LINE 2 CHANGE "PRIMARILY" TO "IN LARGE PART."
- C. PARA 6: IN LINE 1 DELETE "STRATEGY."
- D. PARA 7: BEGINNING IN LINE 5, REWRITE REMAINDER OF

SENTENCE AS FOLLOWS:

- " TO RESIST AGGRESSION AND OF OUR DETERMINATION TO CARRY ON THE CONFLICT BY BOTH CONVENTIONAL AND IF NECESSARY NUCLEAR MEANS."
- E. PARA 7: IN LAST SENTENCE, CHANGE LAST THREE LINES TO READ AS FOLLOWS:
- " FORCES, ON WHATEVER SCALE, CARRIES WITH IT RISKS OF SIGNIFICANT LOSSES INCLUDING RISK OF ESCALATION TO NUCLEAR WAR. NO DELIBERATE ATTACK IS LIKELY."
- F. PARA 10: DELETE THE SECOND SENTENCE AND CHANGE THE THIRD SENTENCE AS FOLLOWS:
- " ALTHOUGH THE NUCLEAR ELEMENT OF OUR DETERRENT IS EXPECTED TO REMAIN CREDIBLE, THE CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITIES OF THE ALLIANCE ARE MARGINAL AND REQUIRE CONTINUING IMPROVEMENT."
- G. PARA 12: IN LAST SENTENCE ADD THE WORD " RECENTLY" AFTER THE WORD " ASSESSED."
- H. PARA 14: ADD THE WORDS "AND AUGMENTATION" AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND LAST LINE.
- I. PARA 15: MOVE THIS PARAGRAPH SO AS TO FOLLOW PARA 17.
- J. PARA 16: REWRITE AS FOLLOWS:
- " A DETERRENT BASED UPON STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES ALONE, WHATEVER ITS FORMER CREDIBILITY, IS NO LONGER CREDIBLE IN AN ERA OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR PARITY. DETERRENCE MUST BE PROVIDED BY THE OVERALL CAPABILITIES OF NATO FORCES. WE NEED TO BE ABLE TO RESPOND IN AN APPROPRIATE MANNER TO AGGRESSION OF ANY KIND, UTILIZING ONE OR MORE OF DIRECT DEFENSE, DELIBERATE ESCALATION, AND GENERAL NUCLEAR RESPONSE AS APPROPRIATE, THUS CONFRONTING THE ENEMY WITH A CREDIBLE THREAT OF ESCALATION IN RESPONSE TO ANY ATTACK BELOW THE LEVEL OF A MAJOR NUCLEAR ATTACK."
- K. PARA 17: CHANGE THIRD SENTENCE TO READ:
- " FOR THIS PURPOSE, NATO CONVENTIONAL FORCES NEED TO BE ABLE TO COUNTER SUCCESSFULLY ANY LIMITED CONVENTIONAL ATTACK AND IN CASE OF A LARGER CONVENTIONAL ATTACK TO CONFRONT THE AGGRESSOR WITH THE PROSPECT OF NON- NUCLEAR HOSTILITIES ON A SCALE THAT WOULD INVOLVE A GRAVE RISK OF ESCALATION TO NUCLEAR WAR. IN CONFIDENTIAL

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THIS LATTER CASE, NATO IMMEDIATE CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITIES SHOULD BE SUCH AS TO GIVE NATO TIME FOR RAPID MOBILIZATION AND FOR MOVEMENT OF REINFORCEMENT FORCES, AS WELL AS FOR CONSULTATION AND A DECISION CONCERNING ESCALATION.

- L. PARA 18: INSERT " IN PLACE" AT BEGINNING OF SUBPARAGRAPH (B).
- M. PARA 18: REWRITE SUBPARAGRAPH (D) AS FOLLOWS:
- " MARITIME FORCES TO SECURE THE USE OF SEA COMMUNICATIONS, TO PROVIDE SUPPORT OF THE LAND/ AIR BATTLE, TO COUNTER THE NAVAL STRATEGIC THREAT TO NATO EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA, AND TO COUNTER ANY INDEPENDENTLY CONDUCTED CAMPAIGN OF ATTACK ON NATO SHIPPING ON THE HIGH SEAS."
- N. PARA 18: ADD A NEW SUBPARAGRAPH (E) AS FOLLOWS:
- " DEPLOYABLE REINFORCEMENT, AUGMENTATION AND MOBILIZATION

FORCES AND EQUIPMENT WITH ADEQUATE LOGISTICS, REPLENISHMENT AND REPLACEMENT CAPABILITY."

- O. PARA 19: SUBSTITUTE THE FOLLOWING FOR LINES 8 AND 9:
- " ON NATO EUROPE WOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT OF VICTORY THROUGH A SHORT BUT INTENSE PERIOD OF HOSTILITIES. WARSAW PACT...."
- P. PARA 20: IN SECOND LINE ADD " OR HOSTILITIES" AFTER THE WORD " HOSTILITIES."
- Q. PARA 20: SUBSTITUTE THE FOLLOWING FOR THE SECOND SENTENCE:

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OVERALL PERIOD."

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NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 EB-11 ACDA-19

IO-12 OMB-01 RSR-01 /149 W

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P R 161442 Z MAY 73
FM USMISSION NATO
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- " SPECIAL PREPARATION AND PLANNING IS NEEDED TO ENSURE THE EFFECTIVE EMPLOYMENT OF REINFORCEMENT, AUGMENTATION AND MOBILIZATION FORCES IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES."
- R. PARA 22: CHANGE SUBPARAGRAPH (B) TO READ AS FOLLOWS:

 "THE MAIN EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PLACED ON EFFECTIVE FORCES READY
 AND AVAILABLE IN OR NEAR THEIR BATTLE POSITIONS IN PEACETIME.

 THESE INCLUDE MOBILIZABLE REINFORCEMENT, OR AUGMENTATION FORCES
 THAT CAN BE EFFECTIVELY DEPLOYED IN THEIR BATTLE POSITIONS DURING
 THE PERIOD OF USABLE WARNING TIME (SEE PARAGRAPHS 10-14 ABOVE) OR
 THAT CAN BE EMPLOYED SO AS TO AFFECT THE INITIAL STAGES OF
 HOSTILITIES. MOBILIZATION AND MOVEMENT SYSTEMS MUST BE CAPABLE
 OF GENERATING SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONAL FORCES WELL WITHIN THIS
- S. PARA 22: DELETE WORD " SOME" AT BEGINNING OF SUBPARAGRAPH 22(C).
- T. PARA 22: INSERT WORD "CERTAIN" AT BEGINNING OF SUBPARAGRAPH 22(E).
- U. PARA 26: IN THE FOURTH LINE, DELETE THE WORD "DEFENSIVE"

AND SUBSTITUTE THE WORDS " COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS." CONFIDENTIAL

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- V. PARA 27: IN LAST SENTENCE DELETE "ROUGHLY EQUIVALENT TO" AND SUBSTITUTE "ABOUT SEVEN-EIGHTS OF."
- W. PARA 28: IN THIRD SENTENCE CHANGE "SHALL" TO "MAY WELL."
- X. PARA 29: CONNECT THE THIRD AND FOURTH SENTENCES WITH THE WORD "SINCE" AND DELETE THE LAST SENTENCE.
- Y. PARA 30: DELETE LAST SENTENCE.
- Z. PARA 33: REWRITE FOURTH SENTENCE AS FOLLOWS:
- " A THIRD IS DUAL PURPOSE PLANNING, I. E., THE DESIGN OF CIVIL PROJECTS AND PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE MAXIMUM MILITARY BENEFIT." AA. PARA 34: REWRITE AS FOLLOWS:
- " A " NATO TOTAL FORCE CONCEPT" ALSO IMPLIES THE CORRECT BALANCE AND INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FORCE PLANNING AND SUPPORTING OR RELATED NATO AND NATIONAL PROGRAMS ON WHICH MUCH OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF NATO FORCES DEPENDS. SOME OF THESE ARE NOW A NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, SUCH AS LOGISTIC SUPPORT, CIVIL PREPAREDNESS AND SUPPORT OF MILITARY REQUIREMENTS, AND PROVISION FOR REAR AREA SECURITY. ON THESE AND SIMILAR POINTS, THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES ARE INVITED TO KEEP IN PERIODIC CONTACT WITH NATIONAL AUTHORITIES, SO THAT MAXIMUM BENEFIT CAN BE ATTACHED IN NATO DEFENSE. OTHERS, SUCH AS NATO INFRASTRUCTURE, INCLUDING COMMUNICATIONS, REPRESENT A COLLECTIVE EFFORT. ALL ARE ELEMENTS OF NATO'S OVERALL DEFENSE EFFORT AND NEED TO BE KEPT IN APPROPRIATE BALANCE. THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES ARE INVITED TO KEEP THIS CONCEPT IN MIND IN FRAMING FORCE PROPOSALS."
- AB. PARA 35: CHANGE TO READ:
- " IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO OBTAIN THE BEST MILITARY VALUE FROM THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE WITHOUT A REALLY VIGOROUS INTER-PRETATION AND ENFORCEMENT OF PRIORITIES. WHILE THE FORCE PROPOSALS OF THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES SHOULD CALL FOR MAINTENANCE AND WHERE POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENT OF MOBILIZATION, REINFORCEMENT AND AUGMENTATION CAPABILITIES WITHIN EXISTING PROGRAMS, ADDITIONAL AVAILABLE RESOURCES SHOULD BE DEVOTED PRIMARILY TO:
- (A) MEASURES WHICH IMPROVE THE QUALITY AND READINESS OF EXISTING FORCES;
- (B) CAPABILITIES WHICH CAN BE DEPLOYED WITHIN THE WARNING TIME AVAILABLE (PARAS 10-14) OR WHICH CAN EFFECT THE INITIAL STAGE OF HOSTILITIES."
- AC. PARAGRAPH 36: ADD A NEW SUBPARAGRAPH (A) AND REDESIGNATE ORIGINAL SUBPARAGRAPHS:
- "(A) SUPPORT THE STRATEGY OF MC 14/3." CONFIDENTIAL

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3. ON RESOURCE LEVELS AGAINST WHICH NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES SHOULD BASE THEIR PLANNING (PARA 31 OF DRAFT), FORMULA 1 CALLS FOR ALL COUNTRIES TO MAINTAIN AT LEAST THE SAME PERCENTAGE OF GNP FOR DEFENSE AND FOR THOSE COUNTRIES BELOW THE AVERAGE FOR

NATO EUROPE TO COME UP TO THIS FIGURE BY THE END OF THE PERIOD. THIS IS CLEARLY THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF RESOURCES FOR PLANNING PURPOSES. FORMULA 2 CALLS FOR INCREASED SPENDING ON MAJOR EQUIPMENT, BUT NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF PERSONNEL OR O& M; THIS CALLS FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDS OVERALL, BUT IS HAS NOT YET CALCULATED EXACT FIGURES. IN OUR TENTATIVE VIEW, IT WOULD BE LESS THAN FORMULA 1 AND POSSIBLY LESS THAN FORMULA 3. FORMULA 3 IS THE CURRENT FORMULA; IS SUPPORTED FOR NMA PLANNING PURPOSES BY MOST DELEGATIONS AND THE TRACK RECORD IS FAIRLY GOOD. FROM 1970 THROUGH 1972, DEFENSE EXPENDITURES IN NATO EUROPE AS A PERCENTAGE OF GNP WENT UP OR HELD STEADY FOR BELGIUM, DENMARK, FRG, ITALY, LUXEMBOURG, NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL, AND UK, ALTHOUGH THEY WENT DOWN FOR GREECE, NORWAY, AND TURKEY.

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